2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42



539 he went down in the water; having gone down he worked bringing it up in his claws; all the earth was dissolved.

Thereupon Ṭhąkur called the raghǫṕ boar fish[4]. He came. Having come he said to Ṭhąkur: "Why did you call me, Ṭhąkur?" Ṭhąkur said to him: "Would you be willing to bring up earth?" The raghǫṕ boar fish answered him: "If you tell me to do so, I might bring it up". Then having gone down in the water he bit (the earth); he was bringing some of it in his mouth and some on his back; all the earth was dissolved. Since that time the boar fishes have no scales on their body.

Thereupon Ṭhąkur called the stone-crab. He came. Having come he said to Ṭhąkur: "Why have you called me, Ṭhąkur?" Ṭhąkur said to him: "Would you be willing to bring up earth?" The crab answered Ṭhąkur: "If you tell me to do so, I might bring it up". Then having gone down in the water he worked bringing it up in his claws; all the earth was dissolved.

Thereupon Ṭhąkur called the earthworm. He came. Having come he said to Ṭhąkur: "Why did you call me, Ṭhąkur?" Ṭhąkur said to him: "Would you be willing to bring up earth?" The earthworm answered Ṭhąkur: "If you tell me to do so, I might bring it up, provided the tortoise stands on the water".

Thereupon Ṭhąkur called the tortoise. He came. Having come he said to Ṭhąkur: "Why have you called me, Ṭhąkur?" Ṭhąkur said to him: "No one is able to bring the earth up. The earthworm has promised to bring it up, provided you will stand on the water". The tortoise answered Ṭhąkur: "If you tell me to do so, I might stand. Then he stood on the water. When he had taken his stand there Ṭhąkur chained his four legs in the four directions. The tortoise became immovably quiet on the water. Then the earthworm went down to bring up the earth; he reached the earth. Now he had put his tail on the back of the tortoise, and with his mouth down below he is eating earth, and this he brings out on the back of the tortoise. Then it was spread out and fixed like a hard film. He continued to bring up earth; he brought up enough for the whole earth.[5] Then he stopped.

Thereupon Ṭhąkur caused the earth to be harrowed level. By continual harrowing some was heaped up on the implements; this became mountains. Then when the earth had been brought up and levelled, the foam that was floating on the surface of the water stuck to the earth, and as Ṭhąkur sowed sirom seed[6] on this foam the sirom plant sprang up first (before all other plants). After this he let the dhubi grass[7] be sown and come up; after this the karam tree[8], thereupon the tope sarjǫm, the labar atnąk, the laḍea matkǫm[9], and after this all kinds of vegetation. The earth became firm. In all places

[4] The Santals know a fish called so; this is the Silurus gigvio. I know no English name. [5] The foreign influence in the story seems here evident. [6] Sirom is Andropogon muricatus, Retz. [7] The dhubi grass, Cynodon dactylon, Pers. [8] Adina cordifolia, Hook. f. & B. [9] Sarjǫm is Shorea robusta, Gaertn.; the prefixed tope is used in the meaning of "cut off", or, "short"; atnąk is Terminalia tomentosa, W. & A.; labar means "highly coloured". Matkǫm is Beaeia latifolia, Roxb.; laḍea means "crooked", or, "bent".

[825] [137] [193]

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The chief presiding deity of the Santals is "Maraṅ Buru." ('Maraṅ' means great, and 'Buru,' hill). Literally, he is the Great Mountain of the Santal traditions, noted in the first chapter. It is said that he possesses the widest possible powers and is associated both with good and mischievous godlings. He must be offered a white fowl, and if a goat is offered, it too must be white and uncastrated. He should be propitiated with a liberal offer of rice-beer during all Santal festivals, and birth, death and marriage ceremonies in the tribe.

Another village-deity is "Mòntènko Turuiko" (Lit. the five-six), who is now a single entity, but addressed in the plural (the suffix *ko* indicates plurality). The Santals believe that they were five brothers (Mòntèn = five) who were wedded to six sisters named Dangi, Pungi, Hisi, Dumni, Chita and Kapra. (Turui = six). They are supposed to preside over the welfare of the village. His younger sister, "Gosane era," constitutes a separate deity of the *Jahèrthan* (Holy Grove), and is offered worship in a different hut. "Jahèr era," another sister of "Mòntènko" is the goddess of *Jahèrthan* (Holy Grove) named after her. She has a stone assigned as her symbol. The Santals woship her for the general welfare of the village, so that their children may have good health, crops may grow in plenty and youths and maids of the tribe may be

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and legends of Hinduism. The linguistic evidence shows how their material culture has been vitally affected and has some bearing on the more elusive realm of thought and belief. The grammatical structure of Santali has little in common with that of the Indo-Aryan tongues. It is an agglutinative and not an inflectional language. There have, however, been large and extensive borrowings of words. An instructive example can be taken from their method of husking rice. The term *ḍhinki*, used for a foot-pedal rice husker, has been borrowed from Bengali, and a *ḍhinki* is found in almost every home. The rice that is husked at the time of making sacrifices must be prepared in the home of the village priest, and in its preparation the use of the older and more primitive *ukhuṛ* is obligatory. This is a wooden mortar in which the rice is husked by hand with a wooden pestle, or *tok*. Both these words are Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is likely that when the household adopted the new method of husking rice the tribe did not change over from the old method of husking the sacred rice for fear of a loss in efficacy. One reason given is that as the *ḍhinki* is operated by the foot, rice husked in the *ḍhinki* is unclean and so unfit for offering to the spirits. It may be that the association of a mortar and pestle with sexual symbolism enhanced its magical value. The symbolism in this case is familiar to the Santal mind, for one way of expressing differences of sex is to refer to boys as "pestles" and to girls as "mortars". The *ukhuṛ* has to be used by the medicine man in preparing remedies; it is also used at marriages, when the feet of the bridegroom's party are washed over an *ukhuṛ*, and an *ukhuṛ* filled with water is required during the death ceremonies. In Bengal the rice which forms the daily food of the people is boiled before husking, and the Santals follow the same method in preparing it; but the rice used in sacrifices, *adwa caole*, is never so treated, being dried in the sun.

Among their domestic animals, the fowl, the dog and the goat have non-Bengali names, while the names for pigeons, sheep, pigs and, most important of all, their cattle are borrowed. Fowls, goats and pigs are all used in their sacrifices. In the realm of wild life the Santal has found little need to borrow a vocabulary from his neighbours. Wild animals, birds, trees and shrubs, many fish and insects, also snakes, have Santali names. The same is true of most of the weapons used in hunting. Although the term for paddy is Santal, the names of all the implements now used in rice cultivation and the terms for the